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ABSTRACT

The document compares and contrasts the Standard Average European (SAE) and the Standard Native American (SNA) viewpoints with regard to fostering cognitive development in children. One basic difference is demonstrated by relating a story and noting that, in terms of Native American cognitive development, no further teaching would be done. In contrast, the various meanings of the story are explained as they would be in the SAE world view. The document next compares the structure of child rearing practices common to many tribal groups with practices common to typical Anglo-European extended family systems and describes typical Native American and Anglo-European extended family structures. Next is a discussion of the place of legends and stories in the cognitive development of Native children. The document then discusses the conflict between the SAE and the SNA world view concerning literacy. Case studies illustrate the conflict. The document also describes the Native policy of non-interference with a naturally developing child and the method used by elders to guide Native children in learning lessons and developing individual comprehension. The appendix includes charts delineating typical family structures of Anglo-Europeans and American Indians and a transcription of a Chipewyan girl's oral and written story. (CM)

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COYOTE'S EYES: NATIVE COGNITION STYLES

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Coyote's Eyes:

Native Cognition Styles

Terry Tafoya

Long time ago, when mountains were the size of salmon eggs, Coyote was going along, and saw that Rabbit was doing something. Now, this Rabbit was a Twati, an Indian Doctor, and as Coyote watched, Rabbit sang his spirit song, and the Rabbit's eyes flew out of his head and perched on a tree branch. Rabbit called out, "Whee-num, Come Here," and his eyes returned to their empty sockets.

This greatly impressed Coyote, who immediately begged Rabbit to teach him how to do this.

Rabbit said no.

Coyote begged.

Rabbit said no.

"Oh, Please," cried Coyote.

"No," replied Rabbit.

"But it's such a wonderful trick! Teach me."

"No."

"But I'll do exactly as you say!"

"I will teach you," said Rabbit, "but you must never do this more than four times in one day, or something terrible will happen to you." And so Rabbit taught Coyote his spirit song, and soon Coyote's eyes flew up and perched on a tree.

"Whee-num! Come here!" called Coyote, and his eyes returned to him.

Now Rabbit left, and Coyote kept practicing, He sent his eyes back and forth to the tree four times. Then he thought, "I should show off this new trick to the Human People, instead of just doing it for myself."

So Coyote went to the nearest Indian village, and yelled out for all the people to gather around him. With his new audience, Coyote sang the Rabbit's

song, and the crowd were very impressed to see his eyes fly out of his head and perch on the branch of a tree.

"Whee-num!" Coyote called out. His eyes just sat on the tree and looked down at him. The Indian people started to laugh.

"Come Here!" shouted Coyote. His eyes just looked at him.

"Whee-num!" Just then a crow flew by, and spotting the eyes, thought they were berries. The crow swooped down and ate them.

Now Coyote was blind, and staggered out of the village, hoping to find new eyes. He heard the sounds of running water, and felt around, trying to find the stream. Now, around flowing water, one finds bubbles, and Coyote tried to take these bubbles and use them for eyes. But bubbles soon pop, and that's what Coyote discovered.

Next Coyote felt around and discovered huckleberries, so he took those and used them for his eyes. But huckleberries are so dark, everything looked black. Now Coyote was really feeling sorry for himself.

"Eenee snawai, I'm just pitiful," Coyote cried.

"Why are you so sad?" asked a small voice, for little mouse had heard him.

"My dear cousin," said Coyote, "I've lost my eyes...I'm blind, and I don't know what to do."

"Snawai Yunwai," replied Mouse, "You poor thing. I have two eyes, so I will share one with you." Having said this, Mouse removed one of his eyes and handed it to Coyote. Now Coyotes are much larger than mice, and when Coyote dropped Mouse's eye into his socket, it just rolled around in the big empty space. The new eye was so small it only let in a tiny amount of light. It was like looking at the world through a little hole.

Coyote walked on, still feeling sorry for himself, just barely able to get around with Mouse's eye. "Eenee snawai, I'll just pitiful," he sobbed.

"Why are you crying, Coyote?" asked Buffalo in his deep voice.

"Oh, Cousin," began Coyote, "all I have to see with is this tiny eye of Mouse. It's so small it only lets in a little bit of light, so I can barely see."

"Snawai Yunwai," replied Buffalo, "You poor thing. I have two eyes, so I will share one with you." Then Buffalo took out one of his eyes and handed it to Coyote. Now Buffaloes are much larger than Coyotes, and when Coyote tried to squeeze Buffalo's eye into his other socket, it hung over into the rest of his face. So large was Buffalo's eye that it let in so much light, Coyote was nearly blinded by the glare...everything looked twice as large as it ordinarily did. And so, Coyote was forced to continue his journey, staggering about with his mismatched eyes.

* * * * * * *

It would be most appropriate in terms of Native American cognitive development that I relate this story and simply close. However, due to the linear and discursive nature of conventional American education, it is necessary that the Standard Average European world view (SAE) suggested by Whorf, be maintained.

For that reason, let me attempt to explicate one of the meanings of the story concerning Coyote's eyes in terms of developing certain cognitive schemes and establishing methods for Piaget's assimilation and accomodation. You see, Coyote, in his normal state represents a bit of everything. He must not be understood by knowing only one legend, but in the context of the many legends he and his counterparts in other tribes appear in. What is a Coyote story for my tribe may well be recognized as a Raven story for more northern Native groups, as a Rabbit story for southeastern tribes, or by specific tribal names, such as the Ojibway's Nanabush, or the Gitkasan's Wy-get. These characters are

good and evil; tricksters and tricked; saviors and tormentors; smart and stupid...in short, they are "Everyman" portrayals. They are of course, much more, but part of the SAE paradigm is the reductionist tendency to be able to comprehend only an isolated element from the whole.

Coyote does not see the world particularily well with his original eyes. In the story under review, he acts improperly in terms of Native standards. He demands the song of Rabbit, even though this is simply not done. There are strong conventions among most tribes that songs are sacred personal possessions that can be given or shared, but the manner in which they are obtained is not the way in which Coyote proceeds. He decides to show off his new "trick," for to the unsophisticated Coyote, this power is not something to be respected, but simply another addition for the purpose of self-agrandizement. It would be interesting, were I dealing with Comparative Literature, or Ethnometaphysics, rather than Educational Psychology, to compare Coyote's "trick" with what those of India call "Siddhi" (Sanskrit) in the sense that one attempting to advance in personal development should not be distracted by "gifts" which are merely by-products of consciousness evolution, and not the goal.

To brag about one's self and abilities for most tribes is considered to be most ill-mannered, which is why Coyote's audience laughs at him when his display fails. Coyote's loss of eyes is merely the physical acting out of what his experience has already been in the sense of being blind to proper behavior.

It must be understood that one of the functions of Native legends is to provide "schemes" or models of behavior for tribal members. One can see the character Mouse representative of specific qualities quite apart from his

actions in this particular legend. A Mouse is concerned with the small things in Life...the everyday activities that deal with survival and maintainence. If one drops a mouse in the middle of a room, it will immediately run to a wall, because it seeks sheltering. A Mouse keeps its eyes right around it, concentrating only on its immediate surroundings.

The Buffalo is a very special being in many Indian tribes. It symbolizes extreme generosity, since traditionally it supplied so many of the needs for Plains and other Indian people. The Buffalo's flesh provide food; its hide provided material for teepees and robes; its horns provided containers; the bones made scrappers and other tools; the tallow provided candles, etc.

Both of these schemes of dealing with life have their advantages and disadvantages. The negative side of the Buffalo figure is that one can give away too much of oneself...just as in the European folktales, Old Mother Hubbard has given to so many that her own cupboard was bare. Generosity is considered a virtue by Native tribes, but it is a virtue that must be moderated by common sense so an individual and his/her family is not neglected.

In the same way, while it would be terribly limiting to only see the world through the eyes of a Mouse, one must be a Mouse at times in order that the petty everyday tasks of living are successfully dealt with. In a complementary fashion, although not mentioned in this specific legend (the story, incidently, lasts much longer, and the legend included in this paper is only a segment from the whole), the eagle represents seeing from a great distance. When one sees with the eyes of an Eagle, one removes oneself from immediate surroundings, so patterns and directions can be determined with one glance. But one must learn to balance being an Eagle with being a Mouse, else in soaring one loses contact with the world, and one's everyday, mundane duties decay from lack of attention.

Thus even though Coyote has accomodated the elements of Mouse and Buffalo into his strategies, he is not very successful because he has not learned balance. To be a whole human being (one might say, a completed Coyote), one must learned to switch back and forth between the eyes of not only Mouse and Buffalo, but those of Eagle, Bear, Cougar, and all the other animals of legend.

This is one reason why the circle is so often associated with Indian tribal philosophy. The same symbol which to astronomers represents Earth, has been used by Native people for the same purpose many thousands of years before Carl Sagan was born. This is the circle with a cross in the center, representing the four directions, and thus the entire creation. This circle symbolizes balance, the desired harmony for which the Native child is taught to strive.

The difficulty in getting this across is that I have had to rob the reader from the "Ah-hah!" experience by summing up conclusions in neat packages. "As Larry Bird, a young Keres, explains, 'You don't ask questions when you grow up. You watch and listen and wait, and the answer will come to you. It's <u>yours</u> then, not like learning in school.'"[1] In having to deal with "Product," I have had to deny the reader the "Process" of coming to my conculsion on his/her own terms. This is one reason why some of our Elders don't want our legends and teachings written down, or even illustrated, since depicting Coyote means we have denied the child the opportunity to develop his/her own visual imagery of the Trickster.

To understand the developmental model by which the child achieves his/her schemes, one must look at the structure of child rearing practices common to many tribal groups. Carolyn Attneave and I have illustrated this in the

attached figures. One of the difficulties that people of different cultures have in discussing structures with those who maintain an SAE is that English is usually the medium of exchange, and even though the same words are used, they have different meaning. For example, Attneave discusses some of the misconceptions that therapists have in defining family systems usually called "extended."[2]

Figure 1. illustrates a "Typical Geneological Family Tree," as ordinarily encountered in anthropology kinship structures. It's the one most people would recognize. Connections are focused on age groups and immediate kinship relations. Figure 2 shows "Typical Anglo-European Extended Family Systems." Here we find a structure that most SAE viewpoints would understand, although this specific format is unfamiliar. The center of the diagram shows the nuclear family, where the most significant "others" are bound together by physical proximity. There are two distinct family groups, of paternal and maternal nature, which overlap to some extent with the nuclear family. There is little interaction or connectiveness between the two larger groups, with the exception of major social events, such as weddings and funerals. Thus we find second cousins are at a considerable distance from the central siblings. Godparents exist beyond the ordinary spheres of either major family group.

Figure 3. illustrates the "Typical American Indian Extended Family System." The circle as a traditional symbol is utilized to frame not the nuclear family, which is relatively unimportant, but to centralize all sibilings. In many Native languages, cousins are all referred to as brother and sister. The immediate circle after the siblings is not the circle of Parents, but rather that of Grandparents. This reflects the position of Grandparents as caregivers and providers of training and discipline. Note that the Grandparent role is

not limited to what is called a "grandparent" in English, but is opened up to include other relations such as a "grand aunt," and could be extended to include what in the Figure 2 illustration would call "godparents." On the outer frame circle are the Parent roles, which include not only the biological parents, but those who have a sibling relation to the biological parents. Depending upon tribal orientation, a paternal uncle to the central siblings might have prime responsibility for supervising and assisting the children, or it might be a maternal aunt. The biological parents of the central siblings would then have specific principle responsibility over their nieces and nephews, rather than their own genetic children.

While this may be somewhat confusing to the SAE worldview, it is very well understood by the Native Americans. As Attneave points out:

> The Indian child is aware of a special relationship to the biological parents but has in addition special and meaningful relationships to the other "parents" as well. It is a family system that tolerates loss or adapts to separation from one or more significant adults far more healthily than the proto-typical middle class nuclear family, since while the child may grieve for a lost parent, there are already established bonds to several others.[3]

Legends and stories form the basis for traditional teaching paradigms, but it must be emphasized that this is not the same style of teaching one discovers in "school." Barre Toelken relates an incident he observed of a Navajo elder responding to a child's question about why it snows in Montezuma Canyon . The elder responded by telling him a story about a boy who discovered a strange flaming object and cared for it until the Holy People came to reclaim it.:

> They would not allow him to keep even a part of it, but instead put him to a series of tests. When he was successful at these tests, they promised they would throw all the ashes from their fireplace into Montezuma Canyon each year. "Sometimes they fail to keep their word, and sometimes they throw down too much; but in all, they turn their attention toward us regularly, here in Montezuma Canyon." [4]

When the boy had heard the story, he accepted that that had explained why it snowed in Montezuma Canyon, but not why it snowed in Blanding, another part of the Navajo area.

> The old man quickly replied, "I don't know. You'll have to make up your own story for that." To the anthropologist (Toelken) who had witnessed this exchange the old man later commented that "it was too bad the boy did not understand stories," and he explained that this was not really a story about the historical origin of snow in Montezuma Canyon or in any other place, but a story about the the properly reciprocal relationship between man and other beings. He attributed the boy's failure to grasp the story to the influence of white schooling.[5]

This reminds one of a line from Christopher Fry: "We have wasted Paradox and Mystery on you, When all you wanted was Cause and Effect." If one checks on the origins of the terms "Paradox" and "Mystery," one discovers that paradox means beyond or contrary to opinion (OED), and that mystery means to close (the lips or eyes). And this is very much a part of Native teaching: that one's knowledge must be obtained by the individual, regardless of what current beliefs may be, and the gaining of that knowledge does not come from only listening to Elders, or seeing what others have done. Indeed, for those many tribes that participate in the Spirit or Vision Quest, the isolation of the individual is a common denominator. The Seeker must open up himself to Himself...the Medicine person will supervise and offer occasional advice, but the insights and comprehensions must be achieved internally. In what might be termed a "disassociation of self," or "spiritual intervention," depending upon one's paradigm, a Power comes to the seeker if all conditions are met, to guide him/her into further development.

This whole orientation is what is so enormously difficult to convey to those of SAE perspective, and why it is nearly impossible to do a highly structured analysis of Native teaching and philosophy. Even the best done works, such as Ortiz,focus more on formal structuralism rather than meaning.

While certainly society and language established the parameters of thought, none the less for those Native people of traditional orientation, individual comprehension of the world was most important. To understand this contrast, it may be necessary to examine the foundation of the Whorf SAE. According to Scallon:

> Whorf (1956) suggested a Standard Average European world view (SAE) which was characterized by attention to objects (objectification), the treatment of time as linear, objective, and countable, a mind-dualism and so forth. These things he attributed to the habitual use of languages of the Indo-European family, especially the world languages of Europe.[6]

If one is to consider conventional education, it seems to have developed upon the lines of a relatively old tradition of Christian tradition. Before the printing press came into existence, those in training for scholarly roles wrote down word for word what a Master or teacher read from his text. This text, of course, was most importantly the Bible, and one might suggest from an anthropological perspective that this may explain the inherent belief among those of the SAE world view the validity of the printed page regardless of what one's senses may tell one. An individual's own experience becomes secondary to what the accepted point of view may be, which is of course, precisely what the "Book" says. The Bible, and other "holy scriptures" represent the word of "God" and are therefore beyond argument, and must be accepted as an act of faith. Due to the halo effect, this connotation of validity becomes transferred to secular texts as well, and as a result, I must "prove" my thesis in this paper by quoting other "writers" who have published material that says what I am saying.

In a fascinating article entitled "The Literate Two-Year-Old: the Fictionalization of Self," Scallon and Scallon compare their two year old daughter who had already been socialized into the SAE with the literate and

oral behaviors of a Chipewyan ten year old girl. They identify the orientation of the Chipewyan culture towards literacy as "Qur'anic rather than what we would call essayist literacy" [7] to use the terms developed by Scribner and Cole's (1978) work.

Part of the difficulty of analyzing the Chipewayan's action is confusing literacy with what the Scallons call "orality."

> It is an indication of how central literacy is to our thinking that we have practically a terminological vacuum for referring to any other orientation. The terms that are available tend to be negative, "nonliterate," or worse, "illiterate," misleading, "tribal," romantic "natural," or to smack of infanilism, "oral" or savagery, "primitive." These terms neither do justice to the phenomenon we wish to look at in societies that are primarily not literate nor do they represent non-literate aspects of our own society. [8]

In many Native communities, the first contact with SAE literacy came with the Bible, and related religious instruction. As a result, Scallon and Scallon report:

> A seven-year-old boy after he knew us quite well took a copy of Goffman's Asylums off the shelf and asked, "You guys sing from this?" When we said that we did not he asked incredulously if we read it. Books at Fort Chipewyan are typically song books or prayer books used in church. The relationship to books is unidirectional. People are readers or singers but not writers. Literacy is strongly associated with religious contexts which at Fort Chipewyan are generally Roman Catholic.[9]

The Scallons contrast a ten-year-old Native girl interacting with her three and a half year old sister in reading. The older sister would say a word and the younger sister would repeat it exactly as it was said. This can be seen as reflective of the statement and response structure of the Mass. When the older sister attempted to work with the Scallons' two year old girl, the younger child would not respond by repeating the older girl's words, but rather jumped off into telling her own version of the story:

> The ten-year-old though was both amazed and dismayed by Rachel's performance. After her outburst of surprise she worked at getting Rachel to give the echoed response her younger sister had given. After a few tries Rachel acquiesced and then wandered off to do something else.
>
> We see in this example that Rachel's orientation is both very different and inappropriate by Fort Chipewyan standards. At two years of age she was an anomaly in the eyes of other children.[10]

Unlike the Native children of the community, Rachel proudly and rather insistantly displays what the Scallons call her "incipient literacy."

> ...there is an important relationship between dominance and display that affects the differences between Rachel's and the other children's typification of literacy. For us it is the dominant member of an assymetrical pair who is spectator and the subordinate member who is exhibitor (Mead 1977, Bateson 1972). Thus it is appropriate for Rachel to develop elaborate displays of her knowledge of literacy. It is further appropriate for her as subordinate to the author of a text to read it aloud.
>
> For Fort Chipewyan children the relationship is reversed. As we suggested, at Ft. Chipewyan it is the dominant member who displays and the subordinate who is spectator. In this configuration it is arrogant for a subordinated member to make any display. A child in relation to an adult should be quiet and reserved. As reader in relation to a text a child should only closely imitate or repeat in liturgical fashion but not presume to a full display of the text as a performance. In the same way the adult as reader in relation to the religious text cannot presume to subordinate God to his own position by elaborate displays of reading and much less assume an equivalent position by becoming an author, by writing.[11]

When a Native Chipewyan girl came over to the Scallons home in order to "make a book" as other children had, Scallon took the opportunity to tape her as well as reproduce her written work, or more precisely, her typed work. There is a striking difference between the two performances. The oral performance in English seem at first disjointed, and the written version is much shorter and more concise:

> Overall OS (Older Sister) is speaking in a face-to face situation almost conversationally. We say "almost" because she was aware of the tape recording which she and her friends had initiated. She was nervious about the distance being created by the tape recorder and we felt it was inconsistent with her conversational or oral orientation in telling the story.
>
> Just at the beginning as OS was hesitating another child prompted "Once" in a soft voice. This suggestion that OS place this situation into

> the traditional written story frame is quickly rejected by OS and even countered with her very conversational opening, "You know what?" OS produces as consistent an oral performance as Rachel produced a literate performance.
> ...Finally the oral version of OS's story compares well with other Athabaskan narration in being formally marked for a four part narrative structure...There are two reasons why we have elaborated on OS's marking of the narrative sturcture. At first glance it is difficult to believe that OS's use of "and" is anything but hesitation or stalling. These markers...correspond very well funcitionally to markers of oral narrative structure found in Athabaskan. As such they can be seen as translations of the oral narrative markers. Secondly, the structure of four units they demarcate also corresponds well throughout Athabaskan oral narrative...This text is squarely within the Athabaskan oral tradition in spite of its being told entirely in English.[12]

By way of contrast, OS's written version consists of only five lines, even though she had enough time to write far more.

> The written version is quite condensed by comparison with the oral version. This does indicate a more compact marshalling of resources consistent with literacy. At the same time it might be said that this brevity is more consistent with the formalization of the oral tradition than with the elaboration and explication of the literate tradition. Hymes (1977) has suggested that a highly succinct version of a traditional narrative may be indicative of narrative control and proficiency. .. We would suggest that OS's brevity in the written version represents a formalization toward the oral tradition, not toward the written as it might at first suggest.[13]

It is relevant to point out that we are dealing with a northern Athabaskan group, the Chipewyan, having previously discussed the teaching style of a southern Athabaskan elder, the Navajo with his Snow story. In both cases we discover a conflict between the SAE and what might be called the Standard Native American (SNA) world view:

> ...for Athabaskans essayist literacy is experienced as interethnic communication and suffers from much of the ethnic stereotyping that confounds Athabaskan-English inter-ethnic communication. Here we would suggest that Rachel's orientation to literacy is not simply an orientation to literacy but in addition it is to a large extent an orientation to the discourse patterns of white English speaking educated middle class Americans. By the same token the orientation of the children at Fort Chipewyan is not only an orientation to patterns of Athabaskan interethnic discourse. As we consider possible hypotheses about literacy and education that might be suggested by our arguments here we want to be careful to understand that these

> hypotheses are also very likely to be hypotheses about ethnicity and changes in ethnicity. We can no longer assume that essayist literacy is or should be the goal of all education any more than we would assume that all school children should be ethnically identified with any one dominant ethnic group.[14]

Luckmann, in explaining the basic Semasiological function, relates that:

> The reality that is mediated by language is not absolutely predetermined. It arises in experiences that are patterned by and "filtered" through interpretive schemes (J. Piaget, 1926, 1954; A. Gurwitsch, 1957; L.S. Vygotsky, 1934). Schemes of experience are typical ways of "looking at" and "coping with" reality. They represent habitualized ways of "problem solving." [15]

We can therefore see that part of the "problem solving" techniques for cognitive development is a strong non-interference with a naturally developing Native child within the Indian model:

> It has often been observed that Athabaskans indulge their children. Except for the specific cases of teasing that we have mentioned, children are allowed a very wide range of behavior. Only actions that might result in serious physical damage are prevented. Minor damages such as the burns that might develop from touching a stove are usually taken as less serious than interfering in a child's behavior and a child is rarely told not to do something...We have said that the person in the subordinate position is expected to display. It is necessary for the person in the superordinate position to ignore the behavior of the child in order to avoid an inversion of the relationship. Paying too much attention to the child would be tantamount to taking a spectator role and to placing oneself in a position that is subordinate to the child. To insist on saying a particular thing or on behaving in a particular way would require the superordinate to keep checking on the child's behavior as a display of obedience. This threat to the dominant position can be avoided by ignoring a child's behavior...When the child expects indifference and gets strong intervention instead we can suppose that this intervention is felt to be all the more significant.[16]

In illustrating this point with a concrete example, one of my uncles was complaining that the new BIA administration building would be built on the only piece of naturally irrigated land on the reservation. This launched him into a disparagement of the "college-educated" who would allow this to happen. He related that he didn't learn about water usage in school.

"When my old people were trying to teach me about water and the land, they would take me out at dawn and leave me out by myself, telling me to keep my eyes and my heart open. At sunset they would come back and get me. They would ask me what I had learned, and if it wasn't what they wanted me to learn, then the next morning I was out there at dawn again. What I learned from that I'll never forget." This is, of course, exactly Larry Bird's point about "You watch and listen and wait, and the answer will come to you. It's yours then, not like learning in school."

The elders were quite aware of the specific information they wished my uncle to possess, but the scheme they utilized forced him to "re-cognize" what they already knew. This sort of individualized training could result in substancial variation in what Posner has termed "hierarchical" structures of cognition. [17] Incidently, it is significant that the "college-educated" went ahead and built the BIA administration building on the only piece of naturally irrigated land on the reservation.

The significance of all this is not that the SAE and the SNA worldviews are mutually exclusive domains that render conventional education unworkable and undesirable within a Native context. It is rather to point out some possible areas of interethnic confusion in communication dealing with cognitive schemes. The lesson of Coyote's eyes is that one must be flexible enough to be able to switch worldviews when appropriate. There is no question that Native children can be quite capable of assimilating or accomdating the technological elements of the SAE. Whether they choose to do so is a totally different matter.

Part of the reason of contrasting SAE and SNA family structures was to indicate what might be seen as a generational lag between an increasing "literacy awareness" on the part of Native students as typified by the young Navajo boy who didn't understand stories. Since it is the grandparent generation

responsible for the "teaching" (if indeed this term can be properly used... perhaps "guiding" would be more accurate) of the young, it will be yet another generation before we tend to see a greater emphasis on more conventional learning styles among a greater number of Native groups, as the middle-aged parents of today who have had a more complete exposure to school systems take over the role of grandparents. Whether or not "literacy awareness" and the SAE worldview is merely an evolutionary stage the Native elders will pass through and dismiss or adapt, remains to be seen. According to Scallon, Berger, Berger and Kellner (1973) have provided an additional model for "modern consciousness":

> This is the world view of the industrialized and technologized world and is characterized by such things as componentiality, decontextualization and the bureaucratization of personal roles. Without developing their concept more fully here I can simply point out that there is a high degree of consistency between the world view they characterize for the industrialized, modernized world and that advanced by Whorf as the SAE. [18]

With these components operant in the "modern consciousness," it is doubtful that our stories will ever really be understood by those with the SAE worldview. The legend of Coyote's eyes which is a scheme for Native cognitive development is only a parable for the SAE.

Notes on Coyote's Eyes: Native Cognitive Styles

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APPENDIX:

Figure 1. "Typical Geneological Familiy Tree"

Figure 2. "Typical Anglo-European Extended Family Systems"

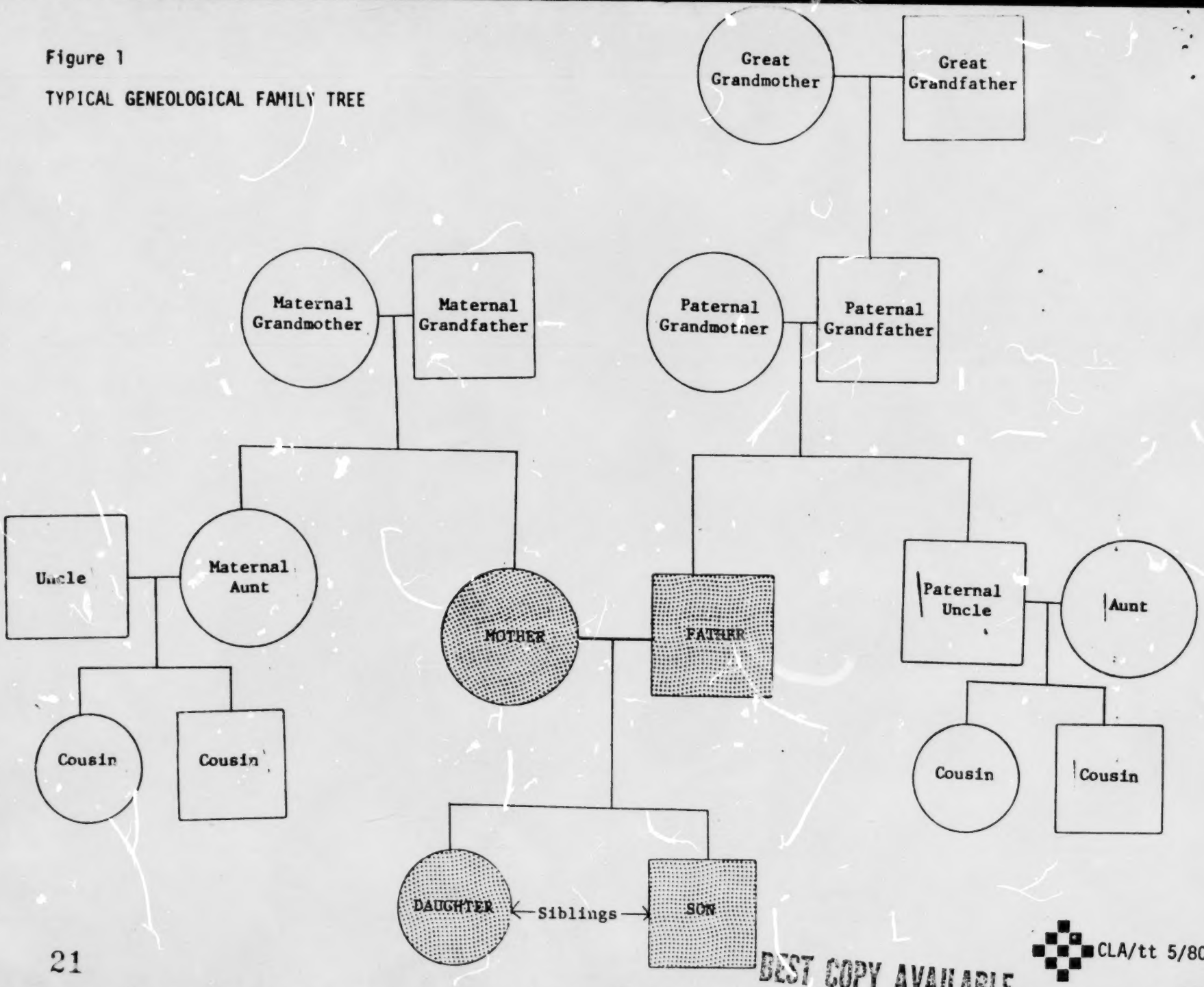
Figure 3. "Typical American Indian Extended Family System"

Transcription of OS's oral version of her story.

Written version of OS's story

Figure 1

TYPICAL GENEOLOGICAL FAMILY TREE



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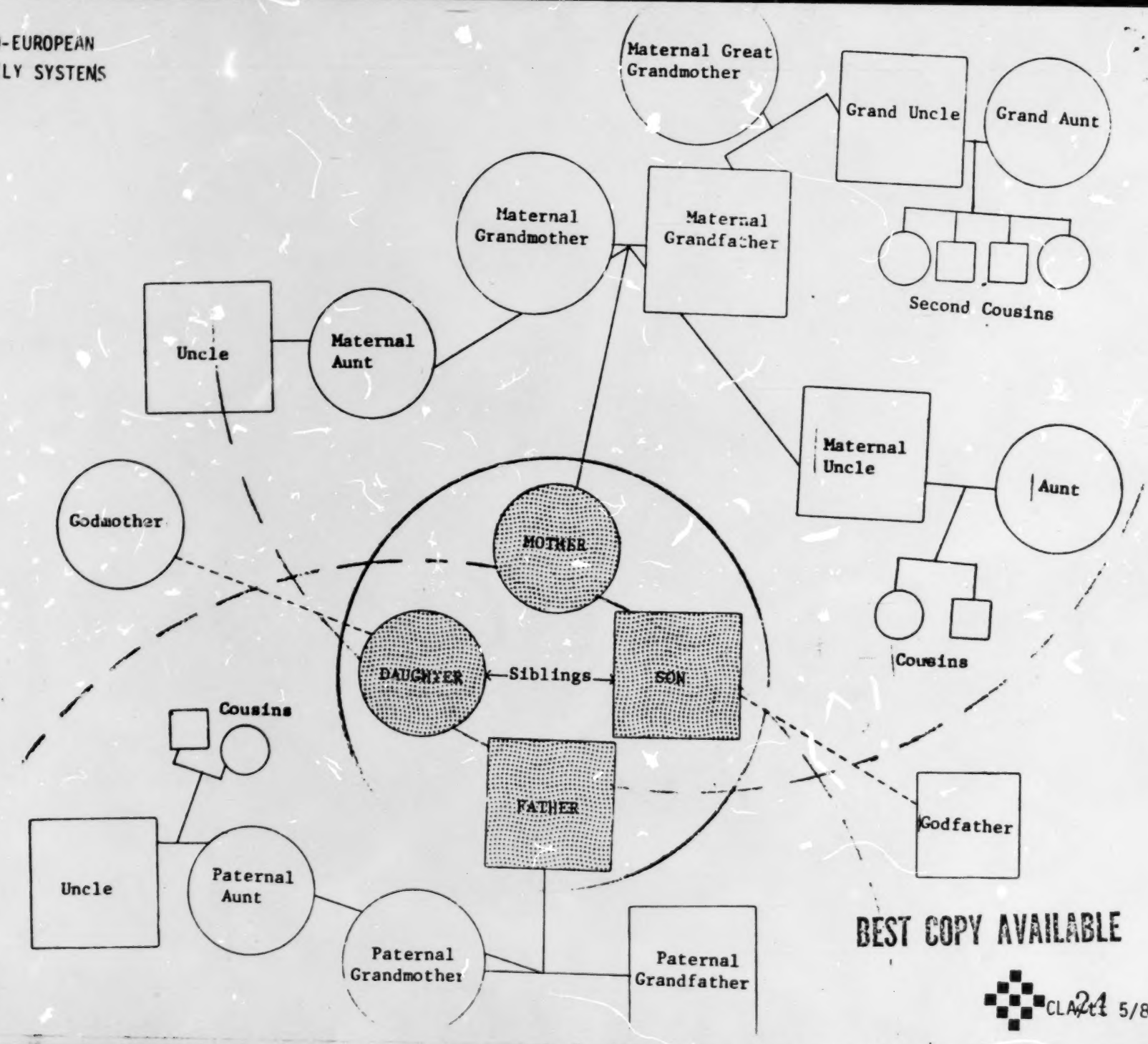
TYPICAL ANGLO-EUROPEAN
EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEMS



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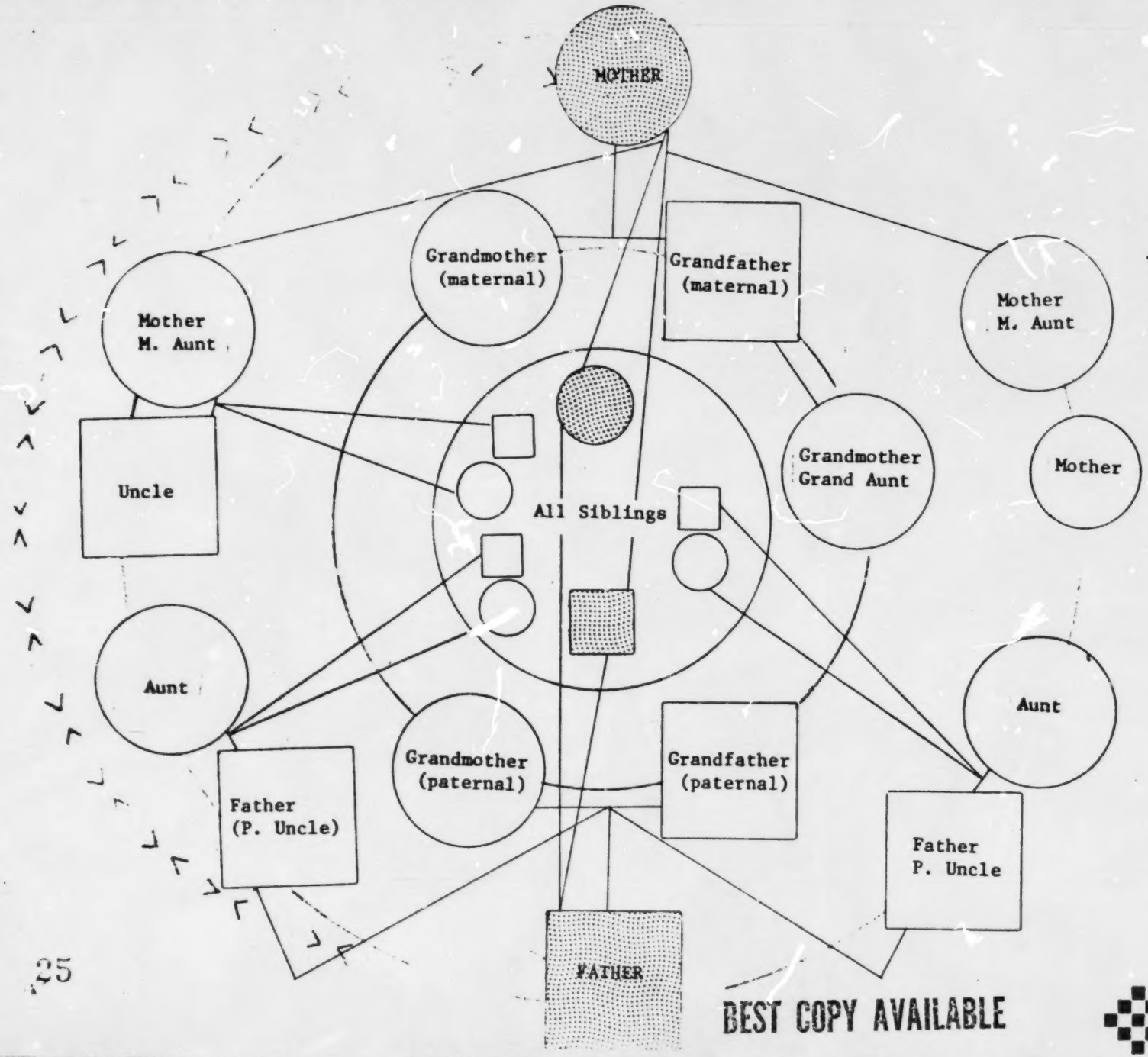
TYPICAL AMERICAN INDIAN EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEM



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The transcription below gives OS's oral version. That is followed by a facsimile of her typed version. In this case slashes indicate rising question intonation.

3.3.1 OS's story

OK

.

m

.

GIGGLES

.

OK

am

.

um

(once)

You know what? that time us we were going Doree Lake /

.

and

by the road /

.

us

u-u-us we seen um

um

a bear and two cubs

behind him

.

just climbing up the tree //

.

that tree was just moving like that

.

(Cubs were climbing up the tree?)

Yeah, they were just sitting on top there //

.

And us we seen a rabbits /

.

and us seen ah

.

and us we seen two squirrels /

.

and um

.

and us we going Doree lake, you know /

.

us we

us we

and us we're in the water /

.

us we seen little small baby fish //

.

Just small ones, eh /

GIGGLE

And I'll I'll don't have to tell you the rest

I'll write it

I'll write it down the rest, OK /

(OK)

OK /

OK //

---

on the way to Doree Lake we saw

a bear with to cubs on a tree

and two rabbits.

and XXX two squirrels

in the water we saw small fishes.

(OS's name)

3.3.2 The oral version

OS's story is characteristic of face-to-face oral performance in spite of the intention to create a written text. It is contextualized and individual. Formulas such as "you know what?" indicate an expectation of listener involvement. Others such as "that time" and "like that" call for an interpretation based on knowledge not contained within the text. In contrast to Rachel's reading prosody this text marks intonation units with rising question intonations that call for audience response. The audience as face-to-face participant is involved in the telling throughout. At the same time the author is not fictionalized. OS refers to herself and her companions as "us we" which parallels the use of the audience address "you know?"

Tone groups are not maintained as strict intonation units. There is much hesitation and recycling.